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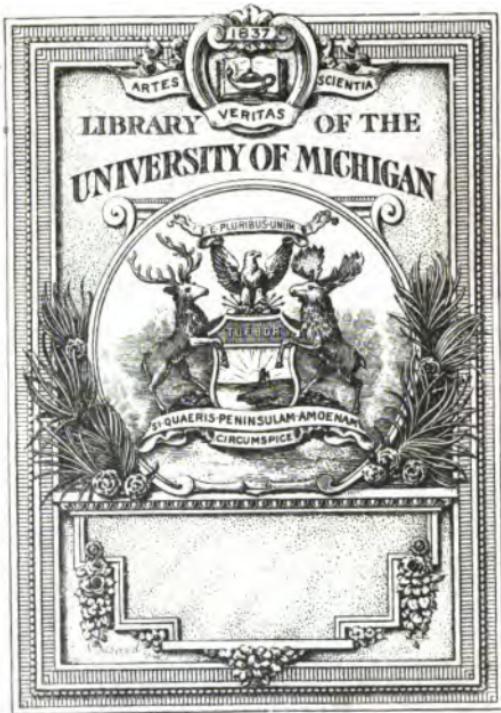
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THE COMING CITY

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TO MY FRIEND

DR. ALBERT SHAW

**ONE OF MY STUDENTS IN ECONOMICS IN THE OLD
JOHNS HOPKINS DAYS WHO HAS LONG
BEEN ONE OF MY TEACHERS**

This Little Book is Inscribed

**BOTH AS A TOKEN OF PERSONAL ESTEEM AND AS A
RECOGNITION OF HIS EMINENT SERVICES IN
BEHALF OF MUNICIPAL REFORM**

10-9-51

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Niclass.

PREFACE.

THE present small volume has a modest purpose. It aims simply to point out tendencies in the past and present and to describe and illustrate the progress in the spirit of municipal reform. It consists of an address, accompanied by notes and illustrative material. The address has been delivered in several cities, and has elicited comments which lead me to hope that in print it may prove helpful to those who would bring our urban life up to a higher plane.

No effort has been made to give credit to others for aid received. Aid has come from many books and articles, but especially from the "book of life," — in other words, long-continued observation. I must mention, however, one gentleman from whom I clearly recollect having received special help in one part of the address, viz., Dr. Washington Gladden. The idea with

which the address closes I owe to one of Dr. Gladden's articles which I read several years ago. How near my language may approach his I cannot say, as I am unable to find the paper.

Past experience leads me to suppose that among the readers of this address there will be those who would be glad to have me mention a few works in which the ideas here sketched may be found further elaborated. I name the following as especially helpful books on municipal government:—

Dr. Albert Shaw's "Municipal Government in Great Britain" and also his "Municipal Government in Continental Europe."

Mr. M. N. Baker's "Municipal Engineering and Sanitation."

Prof. Charles Zueblin's "American Municipal Progress."

Dr. Adna F. Weber's "The Growth of Cities."

Dr. John A. Fairlie's "Municipal Administration."

"A Municipal Program," a report of a Committee of the National Municipal League (published in book form).

The annual Proceedings of the National Municipal League are extremely valuable and should be in every public library. I wish also to make special mention of the periodical "Municipal Affairs," published by the New York "Reform Club, Committee on City Affairs." Under the very able editorship of Dr. Milo R. Maltbie it has become simply indispensable to the cause of good municipal government, and should be found even in village public libraries.

RICHARD T. ELY.

MADISON, WISCONSIN, August 28, 1902.

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THE COMING CITY.

THE TITLE OF THE LECTURE CHANGED FROM
“NEGLECTED ASPECTS OF MUNICIPAL RE-
FORM.”—REASONS FOR THE CHANGE.

SEVERAL times I have delivered a lecture entitled “Neglected Aspects of Municipal Reform.” When I reviewed my notes for the present lecture, I gave some thought to the title, and finally I was forced to say to myself: “Your title is a misnomer. The considerations which you bring forward are not neglected. They are receiving generous attention in periodical literature, and they are discussed in gatherings now frequently held to promote municipal reform and progress.” Yet, five or six years ago, say in 1895, the title was, I believe, fully justified.

THE CHANGE IN THE QUANTITY OF INTEREST
IN MUNICIPAL REFORM LESS REMARKABLE
THAN THE CHANGE IN THE QUALITY OF
THE INTEREST DURING THE PAST DECADE.
THIS GIVES RATIONAL GROUND FOR COUR-
AGE.

When I think about this remarkable change in the quantity, and still more in the quality, of thought on this subject of municipal reform, I cannot repress a certain feeling of elation. My soul is warmed with gentle optimism for the future. We must not indulge in extravagant and utopian anticipations ; but I believe that no fair-minded person, contrasting the interest in municipal reform now with the interest in the subject ten years ago, and still more contrasting the intelligence of the interest now with the intelligence of the interest one brief decade ago, will be disposed to yield to pessimism. Let us take long views, and we shall have courage to press forward in the work of improvement. When we look back a few months, or one or two years, we do not always see the direction in which the current of civic life is moving. May

I narrate a personal experience? In 1890 I was asked by the "Outlook" (then the "Christian Union") to prepare an article on "A Decade of Social Progress." It did not seem to me, when the subject was first suggested, that it was a large one, and I did not feel sure that I could gather together material enough for an article of respectable proportions. But when I began to look back over the preceding ten years, I was surprised and delighted to find how much had been accomplished, and as I recall the circumstances I think my difficulty was, not to find enough for one article, but rather, to put what I had to say into *one* article. Whenever I feel an inclination to be blue or despondent about social progress, I think of my article on "A Decade of Social Progress," and take courage.

SIGNIFICANCE OF MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT.

The twentieth-century city is destined to embrace more than half of our population, and this makes its government of vital significance to every man, woman, and child in the United

States, and indeed, in the entire civilized world. The frontiersman in the far West, the woodsman in the pine forests of Michigan and Wisconsin, the miner delving in the bowels of the earth in Pennsylvania, Colorado, and far-away Alaska, all are feeling, and will feel still more forcefully, the influences proceeding from the character of our great cities as truly as the dweller in London, Paris, Berlin, or New York.

**THE PROBLEM OF THE CITY, THE PROBLEM OF
A REVOLUTION BROUGHT ABOUT BY EVO-
LUTION, BUT IT IMPLIES IN SOME RESPECTS
A RETURN TO EARLIER CONDITIONS.**

The problem of the city is the problem of a revolution — a revolution brought about by industrial evolution, if you please. Strangely enough, too, it involves in some particulars a return to the conditions of classical antiquity. When we speak of the nation as a whole, we use words which are rural in their primary significance. We say this *country*, this *land* of ours, whereas the Athenians said, this *city* of ours — their state being essentially a city-state, with

rural districts, land added as a subordinate part of the state, ruled from the city as a centre. We know the story of Cincinnatus, called from the plough to the conduct of government. It has been a favorite tale with us, because it has been typical of American life in the past. Rural votes have controlled our destinies, and men from the country have given shape to our national life. But we are entering a period in which men from the city are certain to have an increasing influence in the councils of the nation, and are very likely to become dominant. Even now, our President is a New Yorker by birth. It is not possible to foretell what changes will come to our country as a result of the increasing influence of the city-man, but they are bound to be momentous.

STATISTICS OF THE GROWTH OF CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES.

The statistics of the growth of cities in the United States are most impressive, and many an hour could be spent in discoursing upon their significance. Confining ourselves to places con-

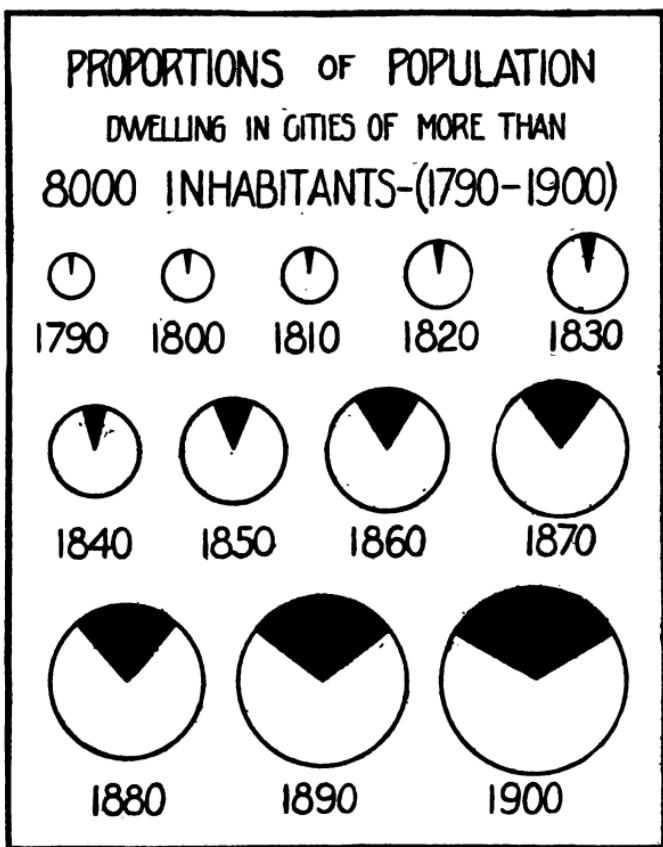
taining 8,000 or more inhabitants, they are as follows:

Year.	Percentage of urban population.
1790	3.35
1800	3.97
1810	4.93
1820	4.93
1830	6.72
1840	8.52
1850	12.49
1860	16.13
1870	20.93
1880	22.57
1890	29.20
1900	about 33%, say $\frac{1}{2}$.

This chart brings before your eye the proportions of urban to rural population in each census year. The black parts of the circle indicate the urban population; only places of 8,000 and more inhabitants are considered.

If we take incorporated places, as the last two census reports do, we find that in 1890 their

percentage of the population amounted to 41.4 per cent. and in 1900 to 47.1.



In the last-named year such places included in New York State a percentage of 77.6, and in

New Jersey a percentage of 76.2, while Mississippi showed the least percentage, viz., 14.7, and New Mexico, with a percentage of 15.2, stood next above Mississippi. Thus we have a progress in urban population from approximately one-thirtieth in 1790 to about one-third in 1900; and if we regard the inhabitants of all incorporated places as urban, we have now a percentage of nearly 50 for the country at large, and one of over 75 for two States. We notice an increase in percentage with every new census, with the single exception of that of 1820, when it was 4.93 as in 1810. After 1840 a more rapid rate of increase in urban population becomes clearly marked. Presently I shall have something to say about this.

If we turn from the country as a whole to the growth of the "large cities" — meaning thereby cities having over 100,000 inhabitants — we come upon disclosures of the census which are equally startling. In 1880 there was only one city having over one million inhabitants, and that, of course, was New York. In 1890 three cities, viz., New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago,

had each over one million inhabitants. While in 1900 there were still only three cities in this class, their population had increased enormously. The "Greater New York" of the last census embraced a population of nearly three and one-half millions, being surpassed by London alone, and it included within its corporate limits an area of 306 square miles. Few States have so large a population, and it bids fair soon to equal the population of the entire United States in 1790. In 1870 fourteen cities had a population exceeding 100,000; in 1890, twenty-eight; and in 1900, thirty-eight.

**THIS URBAN GROWTH NOT PECULIAR TO THE
UNITED STATES, BUT COINCIDENT WITH
THE BOUNDARIES OF INDUSTRIAL CIVI-
LIZATION.**

But this urban development is not something peculiar to the United States. Occasionally we are startled when we are told that Berlin and Vienna have grown more rapidly than New York and Philadelphia, and that many German cities have waxed multitudinous as fast as our

great American cities.¹ But this urban growth is something which is coincident with the boundaries of industrial civilization. It has kept pace with the evolution of that civilization. Scotland had about one-fourth of her population in cities in 1800, and now about three-fourths. The English urban population also embraces about three-fourths of the population of England. About half of the population of Germany is now urban. The population of France has grown slowly, but the new growth for fifty years has been urban. During that period the rural population has undergone a slight and steady decline, while the urban population has nearly doubled, and the population of Paris is five times as great as it was one hundred years ago.

But I must not weary you with additional statistics of urban growth. We could continue indefinitely, but would only reach results like those already brought before you.

¹ See Weber's "Growth of Cities," p. 451.

CAUSES OF URBAN GROWTH NOT SENTIMENTAL IN NATURE, BUT INDUSTRIAL.

It must be obvious to one who thinks at all seriously about the matter that this increase in urban population is not something brought about by sentimental considerations. Men have not, as a rule, left the country and gone to the city as an outcome of changes in their feelings and desires. Deep underlying industrial causes have driven us into centres which have become cities. It is difficult to name an improvement of a distinctively economic character during the past century which has not made urbanites out of country people. Farm machinery diminishes the number needed in rural districts, every improvement in transportation, especially the steam-railway, has, on the whole, added to the percentage of the population in cities. The development and cheapening of express and postal services takes retail commerce to the great cities, and prevents its growth in the smaller centres of population. There are exceptions of individual significance, but in the mass, men

flock to the cities, because there they find the opportunities for gaining a livelihood. The farmers may want more "hired men" during a short season, frequently for a few weeks only, but the total aggregate demand of this sort is relatively a small matter.¹ Our census figures showing the growth of cities bring clearly before us the economic causes underlying this development. When the great industrial inventions and discoveries begin fairly to come into extensive use, after 1840, you see a sudden jump in the rate of urban increase. From 1830 to 1840 the gain was less than two per cent., while from 1840 to 1850 it was nearly four per cent.

THE SUBURBS AND THEIR CHARACTER.

We are witnessing some changes which are making it easier for men to live in suburbs, but the suburbs are urban in their character, and the dwellers in the suburbs are urbanites in their mental attitudes, feelings, and sympathies. Rapid transit of the local kind operates chiefly

¹ I refer to the demand for *additional* farm laborers.

to widen out the city and extend it farther into the country. There is some scattering of manufacturing plants from large to small cities, and occasionally even to the country; but, as yet, we have no reason to anticipate a cessation in the growth in numbers of those who live under essentially urban conditions.

AN EVEN WIDER AND DEEPER INTEREST IN MUNICIPAL REFORM NEEDED.

The general interest in municipal reform is warranted, but it is even yet not adequate, inasmuch as our national life and character are to be so largely determined by the sort of cities in which a large proportion of our people seem destined to dwell. We rejoice in the revival of civic patriotism, believing that it will grow still broader and deeper. The activity of numerous associations, such as our national and State leagues and civic federations, the earnest application of the best powers of many minds to the problem of the city, and frequent conferences to diffuse knowledge and cultivate right feeling

— all these give promise of a still more intelligent and a still more pervasive civic patriotism.

THE RALLYING CRIES OF THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY MUNICIPAL REFORM MOVEMENT.

Let me recall the movement for municipal reform which characterized the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the *fin de siècle* movement, as it used to be called, and how weary we all grew with that whole *fin de siècle* business! — in order to bring out more clearly the progress which we are making, and to indicate the kind of a city which during the twentieth century is coming into being.

What are the rallying cries with which a few years ago it was sought to enlist recruits to wage battle against the forces of evil in the government of our cities? If we direct our memory backward over the campaigns in this righteous war, from 1870 to 1895, various watchwords, which we may, for the most part, group about the business idea of government, recur to us. The most familiar are somewhat as follows:

(1). Wanted, "*A municipal administration on purely business principles.*"

"*Municipal government is business, not politics.*"

And then as a corollary we have statements like this :

"*Business men are the natural and inevitable directors of local affairs*" — I am giving you quotations and I have with me three leaflets and a circular letter, conceived in this spirit, which appeared in 1894 and 1895. They were issued by the Municipal League of one of our great cities (Milwaukee).¹

(2.) A further familiar demand called upon us to rid ourselves of the class of professional politicians, and above all of the political bosses. This followed naturally enough from the call for control by the class of business men, for the one class was set off against the other, as mutually antagonistic and exclusive.

(3.) Civil service reform in the municipal service logically came next in the platform of municipal reform, and it was urged chiefly as a

¹ See Illustrative Material No. I.

means whereby we could rid ourselves of the bad professional politicians.

(4.) A demand for retrenchment and a lower tax rate naturally followed. Extravagance was denounced and retrenchment urged. A business man's government, it was maintained, would give us an economical administration.

(5.) Concentration of power in the hands of the mayor was an especially prominent plank in the platform of reform ten years ago, and quite frequently the idea of one term only for the mayor was advanced.

(6.) Especially prominent has been the following plank in the program of municipal reform: "*Reform requires the absolute separation of municipal government from the politics of State and nation*," and along with this we frequently heard as a corollary the demand for "home rule" for cities. A national conference adopted this as its motto: "*National Parties for National Issues, Municipal Parties for Municipal Affairs.*"

(7.) Finally, I must mention the exhortation directed to good men to shake off their lethargy,

their apparent indifference, and to come forward and be the saviours of the city.¹

SOME REFORM MOVEMENTS OF THE PAST.

Those of you who have reached middle life and have followed municipal affairs with any care will easily recall several extremely interesting campaigns for reform in our great cities, in which war-cries like those mentioned prevailed. My own memory reaches back to the Tweed *régime*, which was overthrown after a valiant fight led by that honest, upright leader of one of our great parties — one whom we may also call a noble old Roman — Samuel J. Tilden. “Boss” Tweed and his friends felt so secure in their power that they said to those who raised a voice against their corrupt rule : “ What are you going to do about it ? ” Well, a few brave men — all the world’s best work is done by a mere handful of men — a few brave men took up the gauntlet,

¹ It will be noticed that in this address all these points are not discussed. The time was too limited to allow an examination of all of them. It is the general spirit of reform at this time which is chiefly under consideration.

and Tweed was safely landed in Ludlow-street jail, and finally his dishonorable career reached an ignominious end in a felon's cell. Never has the government of New York City, since that day, reached so low a level ; nevertheless, it was not long before those were cruelly disappointed who believed that honesty and efficiency had been permanently attained in the government of our great metropolis. A few years later a 'business man's movement placed another fine type of American manhood in the mayor's chair — I refer to Hon. Abram S. Hewitt. The improvement even during his mayoralty was not what was hoped, and soon after his term expired, government in New York fell back into a regular slough of despond. Then Dr. Parkhurst came forward and shocked not only New York City, but even the entire nation, with his disclosures of fathomless iniquity in the police department and of rottenness elsewhere. Like a prophet of old Israel, he summoned the hosts of the Lord to battle against the forces of evil, and achieved so marked a victory that an expensive illustrated book was published called "The

Triumph of Reform." A little later Hon. Seth Low, the President of Columbia University, was called upon to save the city once more. This time the professional politician triumphed, and we have a further retrogression in the government of New York City.¹

I remember very well when some fifteen years ago the so-called Bullitt Bill for the government of Philadelphia was passed.² This inaugurated changes in political forms and was hailed as a triumph of reform. It was thought by many public-spirited citizens of the city of Brotherly Love, "Now we have the true thing." There was an improvement for a few years, and then a steady decline in the standards of efficiency and morality, until the government of

¹ But last year Mr. Low, once more endeavoring to rescue the city from a corrupt political gang, was elected to the mayoralty and is now struggling bravely for purity and efficiency in the government of Greater New York. This has taken place since the lecture was written and is encouraging.

² The bill was approved June 1, 1885, and is reprinted in "Philadelphia, 1681-1887, a History of Municipal Development," by Edward P. Allinson and Boies Penrose, on pp. 835-857.

that city is even worse than that of New York, and is a stench in the nostrils of decent men.

The experience of these two cities has been repeated frequently. I saw the same thing in Baltimore while I lived there — the same heroic efforts, sometimes crowned with temporary success, but always followed by bitter disappointment.

We wish to kill the politician. Decent men have a feeling like that of the son-in-law for his deceased mother-in-law, brought out in an old story, which doubtless you all know. The son-in-law was away from home when the sad intelligence reached him by telegram that his mother-in-law had just died. He was asked what disposition should be made of the remains — should she be embalmed — should she be cremated — or should she be buried? Instantly the son-in-law telegraphed to the inquirer: "Make no mistake. Embalm, cremate, and bury her!" Again and again we have thought that we have disposed of the professional politician with equal thoroughness, but again and again we find that he has simply been driven into his

hole temporarily, to reappear serenely in the rich pastures of yore.

MEN, NOT MEASURES, HAVE BEEN MOST PROMINENT IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY REFORM MOVEMENTS.

Why do I say all this? Why do I bring before you these repeated, dismal failures? It is not because I am a pessimist and would discourage action, but because I think that very clear lessons are to be drawn from this past experience, and to these lessons I wish to direct your attention for a few moments. Evidently we have not been following methods which can lead to success. One chief trouble with us has been this: We have conceived our problem as a far simpler one than it really is. What is needed is a wider, deeper basis of reform, brought about by a positive program. Negative, destructive work is not enough. We drive out one devil, and presently we find that seven have taken his place. We have dwelt too much upon men, and too little upon measures. Too often the reform campaign appeared to the masses of

voters to mean simply this: "Turn out the rascals now in power and put us good men in their place." It was, to be sure, intimated that all sorts of good things would follow this turning-out of the rascals, but what these good things were it was not always easy for the plain man to understand. The blessings promised seemed to him vague, shadowy—indeed, not quite tangible. Then when things have become threatening for the bad gang in control of the city, they have induced some good man to become a candidate for mayor and have claimed that they too are equally keen for good men.

SUCCESSFUL EUROPEAN METHODS AND THE LESSONS WE MAY LEARN FROM THEM.

Let us contrast the methods of the past, to which I have referred, with methods which have elsewhere yielded the best results, and for these methods we must turn to European experience.¹

¹ This is true of the great cities. Doubtless many small cities in this country are as well governed as similar cities in any country. I know well one New York village of some 4,000 inhabitants, viz., Fredonia, which has as truly a model government as Glasgow, Scotland, or Berlin, Germany.

Need I say in this presence how utterly unwarranted is the prejudice against European experience and methods? The problem of the modern city in one country is very nearly the same as that in another; more and more do modern nations resemble each other, and this is especially true of the cities of these nations. But even taking the countries as a whole, it is true that the resemblance between Germany to-day and the United States to-day is closer than that between the United States to-day and the United States of George Washington; that is, if we go below political forms and have regard to the underlying industrial life. True Americanism consists in finding the best in all lands and using it for American purposes, modifying it, transforming it to suit whatever is peculiar in our own land. The adaptability of Americans is something which is frequently admired, and we must learn to show this quality in public affairs.

THE QUEST FOR A MAYOR IN GERMANY.

Let us plunge at once into a comparison of methods by reference to this advertisement of a

German city, which I have in my hand.¹ The German city of Luckenwalde, wanting a mayor, inserted an advertisement in a leading Berlin paper, a paper corresponding in a way, possibly, to the "New York Herald," and requested all candidates, wherever they might live, to send in their applications, with a short life-sketch. The salary is mentioned, and it is pointed out that in absence of a reappointment at the end of the first term—and the term is usually, I believe, twelve years²—the mayor becomes entitled to a pension of like amount. Candidates must have had what is substantially equivalent to a college course and university training in law.

All this seems strange to us, and it brings forcefully before us certain contrasts with our nineteenth-century notions of municipal government; but it points out to us, in at least a very general way, the direction in which our twentieth-century city is moving. The most marked contrasts with older thought may perhaps best

¹ See Illustrative Material No. II.

² In Prussia the cities may appoint the mayors for life.

be presented by these conclusions, which are suggested by our advertisement for a mayor:

1. Municipal government is a profession, not a business.
2. It is a difficult profession, requiring special preparation.
3. A man should devote his life to it.

EXPERT KNOWLEDGE REQUIRED FOR SUCCESSFUL MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION.

Let us consider briefly, then, these statements. The complicated nature of modern municipal government must soon become apparent to every person of fair intelligence who gives his attention to it. It would be difficult to mention any private business requiring anything like the expert knowledge which is an absolutely essential condition of excellence of municipal government. I have recently been reading an excellent work by Mr. M. N. Baker, of the "Engineering News" of New York. It is entitled "Municipal Engineering and Sanitation." After reading the book I jotted down a list of the kinds of experts required for municipal ad-

ministration. My list is as follows: The sociologist, the economist, the bacteriologist, the chemist, the engineer, the physician, the educator, the administrator (that is, the man skilled in public administration), the lawyer, the sanitarian. The same man may be an expert along more than one line, but we have need of at least these ten kinds of expert knowledge; and of course we need efficiency, honesty, and common sense, but the need of these qualities has always been recognized. The mayor need not be an expert along each one of these lines, but he ought to know at least enough about each one to select experts, and to know whether or not they are doing their work properly. He must be sufficiently experienced to recognize the interests of the city along each one of these lines, when selfish and designing men are seeking to enrich themselves at public expense. He must especially have large knowledge about all businesses engaged in furnishing the so-called public utilities, so as to know what may be properly demanded when private corporations are engaged in supplying

these utilities, and what is a right standard when they are supplied by the municipality. Especially must the mayor, along with a backbone of iron, have expert knowledge concerning all franchise questions. Yet it is not altogether an easy matter to acquire all the knowledge which a mayor needs, concerning even one business, like the street-car business. Next, reflect for a moment on what it signifies for a mayor to be able to take a leading part in questions of education, so that he may direct attention to what is needed at a particular time and place. The power for good is immense, but the general knowledge of the science of education needed by a mayor is not attained in a day or even a year.

May I speak of a personal experience? At present, I hold a humble office. I am one of the three supervisors of the town of Madison, Dane County, State of Wisconsin, and it seems to me, after having held the office some six months, that a man ought to hold it for several years to acquire the knowledge and experience needed to make a good supervisor. I have been

hammering away at economic problems for twenty years at least, but in the discharge of my duties as supervisor I feel oppressed by my ignorance. And I presume what I especially lack is sufficient general engineering knowledge; but I see clearly that the engineer requires economics for such an office as truly as the economist needs engineering knowledge.

My second proposition must now seem axiomatic, namely, The profession of mayor is a difficult one, requiring special preparation. My third proposition becomes, moreover, equally obvious, namely, A man should devote his life to it, as the lawyer does to law, as a physician to medicine.¹

THE BUSINESS MAN AS MAYOR.

It is obvious that a business man cannot often be equal to the task of making a good mayor. First, because his expert knowledge lies along

¹ I had in mind in this address chiefly the problems of our great cities. It will be necessary to make modification if what is said is applied to small cities. But the *spirit* of what is said is generally applicable.

other lines. Secondly, because he does not, naturally, have the right point of view. The first point made, namely, that the business man lacks expert knowledge, must be sufficiently clear to any one who reflects upon what has been said. A man may be a very good farmer, and it would not be expected that he should be able to manage a great railway system. Yet the difference between these two is not greater than that between the management of a railway and the management of a city. A man may meet with large success as the head of a great commercial establishment, but we would not expect on that account that he should be able to engage in the practice of law. We do not think that it is any discredit to a man who has been trained for one line of business that he should be unable to engage successfully in a business or occupation of a radically different nature.

Taking up the second point, I would say this : The sentiments, the feelings, the way of looking at things required in municipal administration, which is a public affair, are different from those

which must necessarily prevail in private business.

The prominent man of business has very likely been engaged in urban transportation, and however upright he may be, he has acquired the habit of looking at public questions from the private point of view. He does not readily see why public utility franchises should be strictly limited in time, and sharply restricted in their content; least of all has it occurred to him that it is easy and right to devise plans whereby a city may, after a period, come into the ownership of the local public utilities, and that without any expenditure of public money.¹

So we frequently, again and again, as I saw in Baltimore, return to the professional politician after one term's experience with the business man. The politician has, at least, had experience in public affairs, and if fairly honest—

¹ An alderman who is at the same time a close student of municipal government tells me that according to his observation, a difficulty which confronts the business man is his timidity, due to his dependence on customers. Any aggressive action is sure to give offence to some one whose patronage is desired.

and many politicians are far more than this — in fact, I think our politicians are far better than most people suppose — if fairly honest, I say, the politician has, in a measure, acquired the public viewpoint. But he suffers under our system, and he has not had the right kind of training. Yet we return to him.¹

¹ I trust that no one will misunderstand the position which I take with regard to the business man. I intend to say nothing disparaging to him whatever. Indeed, I share the admiration of the American business man which is so generally entertained by my countrymen. A great deal of the best capacity in the United States, and possibly even an undue share, has flowed into business channels. Many business men would have performed efficient service in public life. Many men now in business would become very able in public service should they leave private life for public life. What I have in mind is this — that in making such a change they change their occupation just as a lawyer changes his occupation when he becomes a preacher. Some make the change advantageously, others disadvantageously.

There is much in business life at its best which can be applied advantageously to public life. Order, system, punctuality, initiative, watchfulness will occur at once to the reader. One of the first and most essential reforms in American cities is an improvement in financial methods. Municipal accounting needs a thorough overhauling, and a

A CLASS OF OFFICE-HOLDERS THE NECESSARY OUTCOME OF EXISTING SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

I wish, therefore, to lay down this main proposition for your consideration. *We must have a class of office-holders.* It is simply open to us to choose the sort of class we wish. The class exists now, but if we wish we can have in their place a class of high-minded, gifted, and specially trained experts in office. Our experience, equally with the experience of every modern nation, demonstrates this amply. We

good budgetary system must be part and parcel of every excellent municipal government. Receipts and expenditures should be scientifically ordered, and a balance between the two secured. In this department of municipal government, as elsewhere, business men of capacity can render very effective service. Nevertheless, even in public finance, something more than the training of private business is needed. How generally have our great Secretaries of the Treasury had large experience in public life! And in how few cases have they come directly from private business into the Department of the Treasury!

Business men are particularly needed in the municipal council, and they are needed as advisers in every department of the government of a great city.

establish general conditions, and then we have the class of men who survive and succeed under these conditions. The ward boss and the heeler are men who emerge from the struggle for existence under conditions actually found in many cities. They are the fittest for survival under these conditions. But it is open to us to establish conditions under which moral excellence, high qualifications, and devotion to the general welfare will be found dominant traits in those who emerge from the struggle for success. In any case, we shall have a class of office-holders in the future as we have had in the past. That arises from the necessities of the case.

This is doubtless to many a hard saying, but we never gain anything by closing our eyes to the facts which are involved in the nature of the case.

But must we surrender ourselves to the class of office-holders, allowing them to govern us as they please? This by no means follows. We have done this too much in the past. While the twentieth-century city will make use, to an

ever-increasing extent, of experts in office, the citizens, the non-office-holders, will have a control over municipal affairs which was unknown to the citizens of our great American cities during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

THE TWO CLASSES OF OFFICE-HOLDERS AND THEIR ESSENTIALLY DIFFERENT FUNCTIONS.

The city of the twentieth century will distinguish sharply between two kinds of offices, namely, those concerned with legislation, and those concerned with administration. Those who hold the legislative offices should have it as their function to represent the community as a whole. They are not experts, necessarily, but they are those who give direction to the experts, developing the policy which the experts must carry out. The legislative branch of the municipal government, ordinarily designated as the common council, will probably be a larger body in the future than in the past. As it represents the citizens as a whole, it should include representatives of all classes of citizens, so that there may be no unrepresented class. The council

should be a reflection of the city as a whole—the city in miniature, as it were.

Those concerned with the administration require expert knowledge, which it is their function to use to carry out the policy established by the citizens through the common council. Measures must, therefore, be taken to see that only those of capacity and satisfactory training are admitted to these offices, and when so admitted their promotion should depend upon excellence of service, and their tenure of office should be a permanent one.¹

¹ It goes without saying that the more skill and knowledge in the community outside the class of professional office-holders, the better. There is also a place in the municipal service for those who have administrative gifts and special fitness for one line and another, and who at the same time continue in private business or follow some private professional career. Germany has developed remarkably what is called the "honor-office" (Ehrenamt). It is said that in the city of Berlin there are some 2,000 citizens who participate in the municipal government, the larger part of them being employed in the administration of charity. We have in our cities many commissions, the members of which receive no pay and hold what we may call an honor-office. Our various park commissioners serve as an excellent illustration.

Is the mayor to be looked upon as a legislative officer or an administrative officer? If he is to be looked upon as the leader of the administrative branch of government, then the German arrangement is the right one. If he is to be looked upon as one who is to lead rather the legislative branch, then he may be elected from time to time. In that case, however, there should be some one with a large amount of expert knowledge to act as his right-hand man. Personally, I prefer the German arrangement, which regards the mayoralty as a profession, whereby men are appointed for long periods, and are called from small cities where they have succeeded to the great cities, where they have a larger field.¹ A man who has been found faithful in little will be found faithful in much, and the German practice gives a great stimulus in

While developing a high-minded class of office-holders, we should at the same time take measures to keep the administration in close touch with the great body of citizens and to call upon them for service frequently.

¹ This was illustrated some years ago when the mayor of Breslau was called to the mayoralty of Berlin, where he had a distinguished career.

the rewards held out to those who meet with distinguished success as leaders in municipal affairs.

**THE METHODS OF ADMINISTERING THE BEST
AMERICAN STATE UNIVERSITIES SUGGES-
TIVE OF THE TRUE METHODS FOR MUNICI-
PAL AFFAIRS.**

But is the method which I have been describing after all the German method? I think not. It is simply a common-sense method, and is one which is employed in our own country precisely at that point where I think we have met with the largest share of success in our public life. I have in mind the State universities in those States where they have achieved the highest measure of success. The management of a university is one of the most difficult and delicate tasks known to modern society. A university is an exceedingly complex organization, requiring for its successful conduct a very high order of talent. There must be effective control, united with a very large degree of individual liberty. Twenty-five years ago, many

able thinkers held that all the great American universities, must, in the future as in the past, be private foundations. It seemed axiomatic to them that the difficulties involved placed a really excellent administration of a university beyond the reach of a State. Especially was it feared that politicians of the baser sort would gain control over State universities. Yet we have met with a large degree of success in the development of State universities in a considerable number of States, and the progress that is being made in this particular is one of the most marked features of the educational development of the past twenty years. I choose a State university for purposes of illustration because its difficulties are so great, and because the methods followed are so similar to the methods followed in the German municipal administration. We have our boards of regents, and in the case of Michigan, where a high degree of success has been achieved, they are elected by the people, together with the judges, in a special spring election, and elected for long periods.¹ These re-

¹ The term is eight years.

gents correspond to the municipal council of a German city. They choose the experts who carry out the general policy of the State, and entrust to them all technical details. The experts hold office during good behavior, and promotion is the reward of excellence. The president of the university corresponds in the nature of his work to the mayor of a city. Just as the German city seeks the best man for mayor, wherever he can be found, so the American State university seeks the best man, regardless of the place where he may live or of his political views. Wisconsin called a president from New York State, as did Illinois; Iowa called a president from Nebraska, and Missouri chose a Virginian.¹

¹The experience of our States in the management of State universities throws some light on the entire problem of civil service reform. Competitive examinations are not the doorway to appointments in the faculty, and even for the minor positions like the fellowships better methods of selection have been found. We find sharp limitations to improvements possible by competitive examinations and we must in municipal reform go beyond these to freer methods, based on a larger degree of responsibility in those who make the se-

Do not suppose that I think we are going to copy precisely the methods followed in our State universities. I do believe, however, that we are destined to move in the general direction which I have indicated. Indeed, one does not have to look very closely into what is going forward,

lections. No State university, so far as I know, has been placed under special civil service laws and yet they either have passed or are passing out from under the control of what we ordinarily designate as politics. This progress is due to enlightenment of public opinion rather than to any new laws.

Competitive examinations are very well in their place and at times nothing better can be had, owing to the absence of a strong, enlightened public opinion. But an efficient municipal administration cannot permanently be established by men chosen by merely competitive examination, except in the lower grades, and even here this method will be followed, not because the best method but the best practicable — “on account of the hardness of men’s hearts,” as it were. The principle of competition is sound, but competitive methods must be broadened as they have been in State universities.

It is not the design of these observations to afford one least little bit of comfort to advocates of the “spoils” methods in politics, but to direct attention to considerations which it is hoped will prevent disappointment and consequent reaction.

wherever improvement is being made in American municipal government, to see that we have already begun this movement. A selection of highly trained engineers for the service of the city is becoming increasingly common, and to these engineers a good deal of power is committed. This is one illustration only.

MODERN UNIVERSITIES AND THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

But the mention of university administration not only illustrates a direction in which we are moving, but it suggests a function of the university, especially the State university. It is the function of the modern university to offer instruction in all branches of economics, political science, and sociology. Nothing pertaining to citizenship can be regarded as foreign to the twentieth-century university. This is clearly recognized by every university of high standing. It is coming also to be recognized that it is the function of the university to train experts for every branch of the public service; to become, among other things, civil academies, doing in a

way for the civil service what West Point and Annapolis do respectively for the army and navy.

We have been too much inclined in the past to believe that there are short cuts to good government. This is not the case. The more fruitful methods are long and roundabout, indirect rather than direct. I believe that the development of the modern university, whether it is a public institution or a private foundation, is doing as much as anything else to bring in the city of the future, which we are all eagerly awaiting.¹

¹ The universities of our country are full of energetic, capable young men, eager for public service and ready to devote themselves to careful preparation for the various branches of the civil service, if they can feel confident that thorough, painstaking preparation and demonstrated ability will secure the coveted opportunity. Even in the present uncertainty as to the outcome of special preparation, there is a daily increasing number of young men devoting themselves to those studies which prepare them for a public career. It must be acknowledged also that the demand for thoroughly trained men in the public service is far greater than is generally understood. University men are occupying a large proportion of the prominent positions in the civil service at Washington, and are increasingly finding their way into the

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT A PROFESSION
RATHER THAN A BUSINESS.

Have I not made it clear that municipal government is a profession rather than a business? Business itself may be elevated to the dignity of a profession, and it is to be hoped that the highest professional ideals will come to prevail to an ever-increasing extent in business. The great objection to speaking of municipal government as business is that it brings before us a wrong combination of ideals and sentiments. Moreover, it lacks power to awaken general enthusiasm, and without enthusiasm nothing valuable can be accomplished in public life. Those who

civil service of the States and cities. No small part of the improvement in the administrative branch of our various governments during the past twenty years has been due to university men, to whom their work is not a mere routine, but to whom it is intellectually interesting because it is seen in its wider relations, and to whom it is a stimulus because it offers opportunities for social service. These men afford a marked contrast to an older class of office-holders to whom an office is merely an office and nothing else, and whose ignorance of their own work and its nature, so soon as one goes beyond mere routine, is something simply astounding.

leave sentiment out of account in civic affairs are blind to the forces which move men.

I am all the time attempting to bring before you forces which are in operation and giving direction to the formation of the twentieth-century city. In 1894 a group of thoughtful men gathered together in New York, and organized a series of municipal program conferences. Their aim was to develop a positive program, and their ideal was that the city should be a well-ordered household. They brought it about that in the following municipal campaign the expression "Municipal government is business, not politics" was dropped, and very little was said about an advocacy of a municipal administration on purely business principles.¹

THE IDEAL OF THE CITY AS A WELL-ORDERED HOUSEHOLD.

Do you not see that when you speak about the city as a well-ordered household you have a rallying cry which may be sufficient to gather about you, in your efforts to secure reform, the

¹ See Illustrative Material No. III.

best elements from all classes in the community? We use the expression "municipal government is business," and the wage-earner is not deeply moved. In fact, he is sceptical. He says to himself: "Municipal government is business. Then it must be like the factory where I am employed, and where wages were reduced ten cents a day last week. I don't think I like that kind of business." The New York wage-earner may say to himself: "If municipal government is business I am well enough satisfied with Tammany. Tammany furnishes me with work, giving me short hours and high wages. What is the matter with Tammany?" The wage-earner of the 19th ward in Chicago may say: "If I look at municipal government as a business affair, what is the matter with our political boss, Johnny Powers? If we are sick and in need he is always ready to help us. If we or our children become involved in the meshes of the law, and find ourselves in jail, Johnny Powers bails us out. If a member of our family dies he sees that we have flowers and a good funeral, and when great festive occasions like

Christmas come around, he does not forget to send us a fat turkey." I am speaking to you about facts and giving you concrete illustrations. If we look upon municipal government as business in the narrow sense of the term, after all, what is the matter with Johnny Powers and his like?

But when we utter the words — the *city* must become a *well-ordered household* — we have provided ourselves with a rallying cry which appeals to what is best in all classes. We think about clean streets; we think about a provision of ample school room for all children — something neglected by the low class of politicians in all our cities. We think about improved sanitary conditions, about playgrounds and parks. We think about public baths and other agencies for cleanliness. We have something in our ideal with which to move every father of a family who wants his children to grow up strong and intelligent, and to have a better career in the world than he himself has had. All that is best in our nature is called out by this ideal — the city a well-ordered household.

The wage-earner understands it, and is moved by it, and the professional man, however learned he may be, cannot well formulate for himself a higher ideal. It appeals also to the business man, who, knowing the difficulties, perplexities, and evil in the business world, would like to escape from it all in public life.

THE CITY A WORK OF ART.

But there is an esthetic side to this, and it is receiving rapid development in these first years of the twentieth-century city. It is coming to be felt more and more that the city should be a work of art. "I would have the city a work of art" is the motto of the park commission of one of our great cities in the Northwest, namely, Minneapolis. It is the utterance of a noble man (H. W. S. Cleveland), long associated with the work of that commission, and to whom the thought of the city as a work of art was an animating ideal of his life.¹

¹ Beauty is the watchword now in municipal improvement. "Civic Beauty Clubs" are being formed, and the American League for Civic Improvements states as its all-

WOMAN'S PART IN MUNICIPAL REFORM.

In speaking to you about the development of the twentieth-century city I have, up to the present, omitted entirely one of the great classes to whom this new thought—the city a well-ordered household—appeals, namely, that half of the human race whom we designate as woman.

inclusive object “The promotion of public beauty.” The work of this League is not confined exclusively to cities, for its aim is to help make “America the most beautiful country in the world.” Artists and architects are among those most conspicuous in the work of municipal improvement. “Municipal Art Societies” are leaders in efforts making for civic regeneration in this twentieth century. Purely economic ends are somewhat subordinated in the work for “public beauty,” and the removal of municipal corruption and the promotion of political purity are not the avowed primary object of these newer efforts; but here, as elsewhere, indirect methods may prove the most fruitful. It seems, indeed, a far cry from the organization whose motto is “Municipal government is business not politics” to the organization aiming to promote “public beauty,” but they are, in reality, striving to reach one common goal.

The aims of the Municipal Art League of Baltimore were stated as follows by Mr. Theodore Marburg, the president, in his annual address, Jan. 8, 1902:

“1. To cultivate the taste and add to the happiness of

The activity of American women is everywhere directed to the improvement of municipal life. Wherever you see any peculiarly excellent work going forward in the development of the twentieth-century city you may be sure that the women have something to do with it. They are cold and unmoved when we talk about municipal government as business, but when we bring forward the household ideal they think of the children, and their powers are enlisted, and when they are once aroused you may be sure that something is going to happen!¹

the children in our public schools by beautifying the school-room.

“2. To provide the best examples of the sculptor's and painter's art in public spaces and in public buildings, perpetuating in so doing the memory of illustrious deeds and characters.

“3. To point out wherein we are behind other communities in provision for the public needs.

“4. To emphasize the importance of foresight in the development of the future city.”

But in the elaboration of these aims economic purposes were not lost sight of, and no one present at the gathering could doubt that a force making for political righteousness had come into being in Baltimore.

¹ See Illustrative Material No IV.

THE TWO CLASSES OF MUNICIPAL REFORMS.

The reforms which are destined to give us the model twentieth-century city may be divided into two main classes, namely, political reforms and economic and social reforms. Disproportionate attention has been given to political reforms, which are less fundamental than the economic and social reforms. Among the political reforms which are coming we may mention an extended use of the referendum. The people are going to insist upon voting upon an increasing number of measures. Very generally, they now vote upon questions of indebtedness. They will hereafter want to vote upon other measures of equal importance, such for example as the question of franchises for public utilities.

Such measures are likely to be taken, either by proportional representation or otherwise, as to secure a representation of all classes and elements in the legislative branch of the municipal government. In a general way the aim of political reform will be to unite a large degree of local liberty and a wide scope of municipal

action with suitable central control. Constitutional restrictions and legislative interference in municipal affairs will be greatly lessened ; but State boards of control will be multiplied, and this is the way in which evidently the problem will be solved.

We have State boards of health which exercise control and supervision in local affairs. One State has a board of municipal accounts, which without interfering with any legitimate local action, renders valuable services to the cities of the State. Another State has a State sewerage commission, which must approve all new sewerage plants. In some cases, State boards have more or less to do with local transportation corporations. Massachusetts has a State gas commission.¹

¹ It is beginning to be generally felt that we have what may be termed an excess of constitutionalism in the minute and detailed provisions of our State constitutions. They are found to hamper us unduly at those points where our life is expanding rapidly. According to the original theory of our constitutions their provisions should simply delay action for a short period, to give time for a sober second thought until the constitutions themselves can be changed. As a matter

TAXATION AND MONOPOLY.

✓ Taxation and monopoly are the two questions of economic reform which are most pressing. The most troublesome of all is that question which is connected with local monopolies. The corporations concerned with our great local monopolies are so closely associated with municipal government as to complicate all problems of reform and improvement. This is inevitable so long as present arrangements continue. This is, indeed, the great evil in private ownership of public utilities. This private ownership results

of fact, however, constitutional changes are often found extremely difficult, and require a great length of time, although rapid action may be important. This is illustrated especially in the case of Chicago, where it is the general agreement among thoughtful persons who have the welfare of the city at heart, that the State constitution stands in the way of needed reforms. This has been the case certainly for at least ten years, but there is no near prospect of a change. Another illustration of the extent to which State constitutions may stand in the way of important municipal action is found in Missouri. The city of St. Louis was so restricted by the State constitution that it could not proceed advantageously with preparations for the great Louisiana

in an antagonism of interests between the most powerful classes in cities, and the cities as a whole. It is absolutely inevitable that a city should exercise a measure of control over the corporations which furnish public utilities. It is also absolutely inevitable, with human nature as it is, that these corporations should enter politics, in order to prevent this control from taking forms which they look upon as hostile to their interests. One peculiarity of the situation is this: that the strongest elements in the com-

Purchase Exposition. In this case fortunately it was found possible to change the constitution of the State.

There are those who, seeing these injurious restrictions upon municipal activity, would do away with practically all control of the central State through the constitution or even statutes. We hear frequently the slogan, "Home rule for cities." It is possible, however, to go too far in the opposite direction. The welfare of the State as a whole cannot be dissociated from the welfare of the cities in the State. All countries have found it necessary to exercise some central control over local political units. What is needed is control with flexibility, and this seems to be best given by boards of one kind and another. This system works well in England, and as stated in the text, so far as tried seems to be accomplishing good results in this country.

munity are directly and indirectly interested in these private corporations.

We continually hear complaint made about the apathy and indifference of our best citizens. It seems strange that it occurs to people so seldom to inquire into the underlying cause of this apathy and indifference. We might, indeed, first of all, ask the question, Are we not combining altogether contradictory terms? Is it possible that a citizen can be at the same time a good citizen and apathetic and indifferent about the character of the government of the city in which he lives? If the citizen were really a good citizen, would he not exert himself in behalf of his city, his State, and his country? Passing by, however, any reflections of this kind, is it not natural to suppose that there must be some underlying cause for this apathy and indifference? Is it not quite possible that in many cases these best citizens are gaining more than they lose by precisely the kind of municipal government which exists at the present time? A distinguished divine, in an address before the Marquette Club of Chicago, expressed himself

as follows: "If we were to awake to-morrow morning and find that all the aldermen in the city hall were honest men, a lot of our most respectable citizens would be found running around town like chickens with their heads cut off, seeking to protect the franchises their attorneys have plotted and schemed and bribed to get for them. You say our intelligent men, our wealthy men, our brainy men, should be aided in this reform. It is our intelligent men who are looting the community. They don't want municipal reform. Present conditions are too profitable."¹

This may be, and is, too sweeping in its implications. We have best citizens among the most respectable, the most intelligent, and the wealthiest people in every city, and the number of them is constantly increasing. We should not forget in this connection the activity of the Merchants' Association of New York City which includes many leading citizens and is at the same time one of the bulwarks of good government. Frequently, however, citizens of this class are

¹ See Illustrative Material No. V.



called upon to make sacrifices, and very serious sacrifices, in behalf of good government. I do not see why an owner of street car stock, or gas stock, in any one of our great cities, should exert himself in behalf of municipal reform if he have regard simply to his own private interests. I look upon it as very praiseworthy that so many men owning stock in these so-called public utilities are willing to engage in municipal reform, as the result is likely to be more onerous conditions imposed upon the undertakings in which they are interested.

In some way or another, through public ownership or otherwise, the twentieth-century city will simplify the issues of municipal government, and will be able to enlist in the cause of good government all classes of citizens. It will not be necessary for citizens of wealth to incur serious financial risk by joining the really best citizens, who are working for the ideal — the city as a household.



THE OUTLOOK FOR THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY CITY.

The great field of work has been roughly indicated. We have to prepare for the coming domination of the city, and for an extension of urban conditions even to rural communities. We have to adjust ourselves to some extent to a change of ideals. What shall we say to this? Certainly there is no ground for despair. The spreading out of cities and the extension of urban conditions to country districts may mean, and must be made to mean, a combination of advantages of city and of country. Our ideal in this country has been the domination of the rural community rather than of the city. But if we look back upon past history, and ask ourselves whence the sources of the highest achievements in the way of culture and civilization, we shall find much to give us hope in the prospect of the domination of the city in the twentieth century. As we think about the city during human history we recall Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, Florence, London, Paris, Berlin, sources

of religion, learning, and art. Is it without significance that the words "polite" and "urban" are both derived from words meaning city? Is it without significance that Christianity became known in a city, and that the word "pagan" means a dweller in the country? Or is it without significance that the apostle John saw a redeemed society existing as a city?—"And I John saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband."¹

I think all of these things are deeply significant, and the significance is perceived in the expression "civic church," which like the expression "the city a well-ordered household," gathers up ideals which are animating those who are giving shape to the twentieth-century city. The city is destined to become a well-ordered household, a work of art, and a religious institution in the truest sense of the word "religious."

The great Italian, Mazzini, said long ago: "Every political question is becoming a social

¹ Rev. 21:22.

question, and every social question a religious question." Until our religion can take in municipal reform we shall not achieve the best of which we are capable in the way of the city. We must come to have that feeling which the Psalmist had for the great Jewish city, and the promise and power of the present efforts making for civic righteousness are found precisely in this fact that we are coming to have just that sort of a truly religious feeling. You remember the words of the Psalmist, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy." So we must learn to say, — indeed, are learning to say, — "If I forget thee, O Chicago, O New York, O St. Louis, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer thee not above my chief joy."

And because we are learning to say this we may look forward with the brightest anticipations to the future of the twentieth-century city.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX.

ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL.

ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL NO. I.

NOTE.—In presenting this illustrative material, taken from the Municipal League of Milwaukee, I would not be understood as in any way attacking this organization and the men who in 1894 and 1895 comprised it. I believe that they were sincere and earnest and that their efforts were necessary to prepare the way for present methods. These circulars, however, illustrate a certain phase of municipal reform and when one studies the current literature of municipal reform, it is hard to believe that this phase was one through which we were passing less than ten years ago.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND OUTLINE OF
POLITICAL ACTION FOR THE SPRING ELECTION
OF 1894.

*Adopted Feb. 8, 1894, at a General Meeting of the
Municipal League.*

1. The League will not nominate a ticket or candidate of its own.
2. It will, however, try to make its influence felt within the existing party organizations, so that the best available men shall be put in nomination, without particular regard to their past or present affiliations.
3. City and county offices are not intended to be a reward for services rendered in the interest of party organizations. The public have a right to insist that the official, as well as his deputy, in point of character, learning, and experience, afford sufficient guaranty that our interests will be fully understood and protected. This is especially true in filling the offices of city comptroller and city attorney, to whom the taxpayers primarily look for proper discrimination and restraint in all matters affecting our finances and city credit.

4. The League will also insist that greater care be exercised in the selection of candidates for the Common Council and Board of Supervisors; no one, unless a capable and honest man, should be nominated.

5. We deem the extension of the civil service system to all appointive officers, such as the Board of Public Works, Water Department, Board of Health, Building and Plumbing Inspectors, Harbor Master, Tax Commissioner, Assessors, City Clerk, and others, to be the very essence of reform and apt to do away with a number of evils now complained of in municipal elections.

6. We invite all good people in our community to co-operate with us in carrying out the above programme and we notice with profound pleasure that a strong moral and religious sentiment is already aroused in that behalf.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee, in conjunction with the President of this League, be instructed to promulgate these sentiments, to cause them to be formally presented at every one of the ensuing city conventions, to urge the adoption by them of a civil service plank, substantially as above indicated, and to act as an Advisory Committee within these premises.

THE MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

“NATIONAL PARTIES FOR NATIONAL ISSUES, MUNICIPAL PARTIES FOR MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS”
(MOTTO OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE). —
“THE GOVERNMENT, THAT IS, OURSELVES.”
—“THE CORRUPTION OF THE CITY IS THE MENACE OF THE STATE.”

A great and genuine movement in favor of creditable city government is spreading over the country, and took form at Philadelphia the 25th and 26th of January in a large and enthusiastic national convention, attended by the leading men of the country, and *wholly free from politics*.

It has occurred to bright men everywhere that if people pay taxes and salaries they are entitled to some adequate return for their money. This is particularly true of the small property holder, all of whose taxable effects are “in sight” when the tax collector calls.

There is no need whatever for bad conditions. The good citizens far outnumber the bad, and really possess all the power, if, as Mr. Moorfield Storey said at the convention, “they only knew it.”

We are not in the hands of powerful organiza-

tions. We simply do not govern. Somebody must govern, and it is left to a body of irresponsible men, who have no power except what we give them, or permit them to exercise, through neglect.

If a thousand citizens would pledge themselves to Municipal League principles, so as to take the moral control of the situation into their own hands by virtue of numbers, the small minority of politicians would "go out of business," so to speak, at once. Their sole power exists in the people's neglect. They do not number more than a few hundred men in this city of thousands; and if a biographical portrait gallery of the whole number could be established, the idea that they are either powerful or serious antagonists would become ludicrous.

Great energy and earnestness are being shown by the civic clubs in New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Providence, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Atlanta, and elsewhere. Minneapolis sent the president of her Board of Trade to the convention, and is preparing to move in the matter with characteristic enterprise. How far behind the times can Milwaukee afford to be in this really good work?

An article in the "Detroit Free Press" asks if reformers are sure they do not want something

besides reform. It is a cynical question characteristic of the times. It is asked about reform leagues by the innocent editor of a party paper; but the leagues alone ask it about the regular rings and parties. Do they want something beside the public good? What do they want? Why do the people follow them?

As long as we put no candidate in the field it would seem unnecessary to ask that question about us.

The League has no hostility toward national party as such, but only national party out of place. It aims to confine the parties to their province. After local affairs are established on a secure and independent basis, the parties can divide the city politically to their heart's content. We only require them to cease degrading and subordinating city matters, about which they care nothing, to their own interests. The people who pay the taxes are entitled to their money's worth, to first-class and **Exclusive** service at the hands of their employees, the city officials.

Join the Municipal League at once, and help us begin the good work this spring. We want an improved Common Council. Only numbers can secure it.

For information apply to E. K. West, Secretary,
55 Fourth Street.

JOHN A. BUTLER.

President.

Let strict civil service rules be introduced in all city departments.

Urge legislation to that end.

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF MILWAUKEE.

MARCH 20, 1894.

Question 1. — Will you, if elected, use your influence as an official to further legislation extending the civil service system, substantially as now prevailing in the fire and police departments, to all other appointive municipal offices? *Answer* —

Question 2. — Will you, if elected, ignore within the sphere of your official action the political lines of distinction which are generally recognized in State and national affairs, and advocate a municipal administration on purely business principles? *Answer* —

Kindly return these questions with your answers by the 26th inst. to

MUNICIPAL LEAGUE.

THE MUNICIPAL LEAGUE OF
MILWAUKEE.

320 *Goldsmith Building.*

**“THE CORRUPTION OF THE CITY IS THE MENACE
OF THE STATE.”**

OFFICERS.— John A. Butler, *President*; De Witt Davis, *Corresponding Secretary*; Joshua Stark, E. W. Frost, J. R. Brigham, Dr. Lewis Sherman, *Vice-presidents.*

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.— E. P. Bacon, Robert Hill, Jeremiah Quin, C. W. Norris, Geo. H. Wahl, Rev. Judson Titsworth, W. A. Nowell.

JAN. 1, 1895.

MY DEAR SIR: You are undoubtedly aware of the widespread and rapidly growing interest in better city government in many of our American cities, including Milwaukee, and of the recent result of the spirit of municipal reform in the city of New York. We have been gratified to find that the plan of work in Milwaukee is approved by the best opinion as represented at two national conferences; and as some of our projects apply to the

State at large, and many cities in the State suffer in a greater or less degree from the evils of an imperfect and unbusinesslike administration, I take the liberty of laying before you, in common with other prominent men in the principal cities of the State, a memorandum of our projects, and will ask you for a brief opinion of their merits as measures of relief. There is no reason why the movement for systematic, non-partisan business methods in the conduct of city affairs should not extend to other cities of the State, and it is believed that thinking men in such cities will be interested in watching and perhaps influencing the action of the Legislature upon our propositions, as an entering wedge in a cause which is theirs as well as ours. Moreover, a Corrupt Practices Act, or perhaps better, a Pure Politics Act, is, of course, important to every good citizen of Wisconsin, as a means with which to forestall and prevent the very serious evils from which many States and communities are suffering. It is a measure which has already been adopted in several States, and is being pushed vigorously in others.

Spaces have been left between the various propositions laid before you on a separate sheet for comments, and you will oblige us and greatly

facilitate our efforts by replying as soon as you conveniently can.

Yours very truly,

JOHN A. BUTLER,

President.

A Reform League or Civic Club should be established in every Wisconsin city.

NOTE.—The following program of a conference held in Chicago in October, 1901, the primary purpose of which was municipal reform, is simply typical of the broad scope and changed conditions of present efforts to improve the American city.

CONFERENCE OF THE IMPROVEMENT
SOCIETIES OF COOK COUNTY,

FULLERTON HALL ART INSTITUTE, SATURDAY,
OCT. 5, 1901.

*Addresses of fifteen minutes each, followed by ten
minutes' discussion.*

Morning Session, 10.00 A.M.

Chairman, Mr. La Verne W. Noyes, President
Civic Federation.

Improvement by Private Initiative:

1. Charities: Mr. Ernest P. Bicknell, General Superintendent Chicago Bureau of Charities.
2. Settlements: Prof. Graham Taylor, Chicago Commons.
3. The Federation of Labor:
4. Housing of the People: Mr. Robert W. Hunter, City Homes Association.
5. Municipal Art: Mr. Dwight Perkins, Chicago Architectural Club.
6. Local Improvement Societies: Mrs. Gertrude Blackwelder, Morgan Park Improvement Society.

A light luncheon will be served by the Art Institute, 35 cents.

Afternoon Session, 2.30 P.M.

Chairman, Supt. Orville T. Bright, Cook County Schools.

Improvement through Citizenship :

1. Publicity: Mr. William Kent, Municipal Voters' League.
2. Tax Reform: Miss Margaret Haley, Teachers' Federation.
3. Unification: Mr. Harry S. Mecartney, Attorney Civic Federation.
4. Winnetka Town Meeting: Mr. Frederick Greeley, of Winnetka.
5. Public Baths and Gymnasiums: Miss Mary McDowell, University of Chicago Settlement.
6. A Cook County Park System: Alderman W. S. Jackson, Chairman Special Park Commission.

Evening Session, 8.00 P.M.

Chairman, Mr. John H. Nolan, Treasurer School Extension Committee.

Public School Extension :

1. The Public School System: Supt. E. C. Cooley, Chicago Schools.
2. Art in the Schools: Miss Ellen Gates Starr, Public School Art Society.

3. A Winter's Program: Miss Jane Addams, Hull House.

4. Public School Extension: Prof. Charles Zueblin, Chairman School Extension Committee. (Illustrated by lantern slides.)

Conference Committee: Mrs. O. T. Bright, Englewood Women's Club; Miss Margaret Haley, Teachers' Federation; Charles Zueblin, School Extension Committee.

ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL NO. II.

The following advertisement is taken from
“Berliner Tageblatt,” of July 17, 1891:

AMTLICHE ANZEIGEN.**OFFENE BÜRGERMEISTER-STELLE.**

Die Stelle des Bürgermeisters hiesiger Stadt, welchem zugleich die Geschäfte des Standesbeamten für die Stadt Luckenwalde obliegen, soll baldigst wieder besetzt werden. Das — in gleicher Höhe pensionsberechtigte — Jahresgehalt beträgt 4,800 Mark.

Bewerber, welche die zweite Prüfung für den höheren Justiz oder Verwaltungsdienst abgelegt haben, werden ergebenst ersucht, ihre Anmeldungen nebst kurzen Lebenslauf bis spätestens zum 30. August cr. an den Unterzeichneten einzureichen.

Luckenwalde. den 15. Juli 1891.

Der Stadtverordneten-Vorsteher Otto.

The following is a translation of the foregoing advertisement for a mayor:

OFFICIAL NOTICES.

VACANT MAYOR'S POSITION.

It is desired to fill at once the position of mayor in this city, to whom are intrusted also the duties of the registration and vital statistics office. The yearly salary is 4,800 marks, and the pension to which the mayor becomes entitled amounts to the same sum.

Candidates who have passed the second examination for the higher judicial or administrative service are respectfully requested to send in their applications, with a short sketch of their life, not later than the 30th of August, to the undersigned.

Luckenwalde, July 15, 1891.

The Chairman of the Municipal Council, Otto.

ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL NO. III.

NOTE.—The following reprint of the program of the conferences referred to illustrates the methods pursued by these leaders of thought, and will serve as a model for similar conferences elsewhere :

WANTED : A MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

The undersigned are chiefly responsible for the organization of these conferences, but gratefully acknowledge much valuable advice and assistance from others.

SAMUEL ZANE BATTEN,
WILLIAM SCUDAMORE,
WILLIAM HOWE TOLMAN,
LEIGHTON WILLIAMS.

PROGRAM of a series of conferences of those interested in good municipal government, to be held in the Amity Building, 312 West 54th street, on alternate Thursday evenings, at 8 P.M., commencing Thursday, Jan. 18, 1894.

[The Amity Building is near Eighth Avenue, and within a block of the 53d Street Eighth Avenue Station of the Sixth Avenue Elevated Main Line.]

General Program.

January 18.	The Need of a Positive Program.
February 1.	The New Social Spirit.
February 15.	New York's Workers.
March 1.	New York's Dependents.
March 15.	New York's Houses.
March 29.	New York's Saloons.
April 12.	New York's Amusements.
April 26.	New York's Needs.
May 10.	New York's Thoroughfares.
May 24.	New York for New Yorkers.
June 7.	New York's Political Prospects.

January 18.—Chancellor Henry M. MacCracken, University of the City of New York, in the Chair.
“The Need of a Positive Program,” by Leighton Williams. [Half-hour limit.]

Points from over Sea:

1. “Some European Cities,” by Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the “Review of Reviews.”
2. “London,” by Percival Chubb, of the Fabian Society.

February 1.—Maj.-Gen. O. O. Howard, Commandant Department of the East, U.S.A., in the Chair.

“The New Social Spirit,” by Dr. Josiah Strong, Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance. [Twenty minutes.]

[Ten-minute papers:]

1. “The C.A.I.L.,” by W. H. van Allen, Secretary.
2. “The Christian Endeavor Society,” by M. S. Littlefield, President Local District 4.
3. “The Brotherhood of St. Andrew,” by John W. Wood, General Secretary.
4. “The Salvation Army,” by Commander Ballington Booth.
5. “The Ethical Society,” by Prof. Felix Adler.

February 15.—Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, in the Chair.

“New York’s Workers”:

1. “Technical and Industrial Education,” by Dr. Henry M. Leipziger, of the Board of Education.
2. “The Sweating System,” by Dr. Annie S. Daniel, of the Women’s Medical College.
3. “The Unemployed,” by Alexander Jonas.

4. "Municipal Labor Bureaus," by Mornay Williams.

March 1. — Ex-Mayor Abram S. Hewitt in the Chair.

"New York's Dependents," the Children, the Sick, and the Aged :

1. "The Schools," by Col. George T. Balch.
2. "The Hospitals," by Stephen Smith, M.D.
3. "The Charities," by Father Doyle, Editor "Catholic World."
4. "Old Age Pensions," by Miss Alice L. Woodbridge, Secretary Working Women's Society.

March 15. — R. Fulton Cutting in the Chair.

"New York's Houses":

1. "The Tenement Problem," by Edward Marshall, of "The Press."
2. "Friendly Rent Collecting," by Dr. Wm. Howe Tolman, Secretary City Vigilance League.
3. "Municipal Lodging Houses," by Hon. Charles F. MacLean, Commissioner of Police.
4. "Improved Architecture," by John H. Edelman.

March 29.—R. W. Gilder, Editor of "The Century," in the Chair.

"New York's Saloons":

1. "Improved Saloons," by Morris Tekulsky, President of the Wine, Liquor and Beer Dealers' Association.
2. "Saloon Substitutes," by Robert Graham, Secretary Church Temperance Society.
3. "State-owned Saloons," by G. B. Waldron, of "The Voice."
4. "No Saloons," by David J. Burrell, D.D.

April 12.—Mrs. J. de la M. Lozier, M.D., President of Sorosis, in the Chair.

"New York's Amusements":

1. "Winter Swimming Baths," by Walter Rauschenbusch.
2. "Playgrounds and Gymnasia," by Samuel Z. Batten, of the Philadelphia Municipal League.
3. "Reading Rooms and Libraries," by Mrs. Amy L. Scudamore.
4. "Recreative Evening Schools," by Homer Folks, Secretary State Charities Aid Association.

April 26.—W. Harris Roome, President City Reform Club, in the Chair.

“New York’s Needs”:

1. “Rapid Transit,” by Charles B. Stover.
2. “Free Baths and Washhouses,” by John P. Faure, Secretary St. John’s Guild.
3. “Lavatories and Mortuaries,” by Dr. Stanton Coit, of the University Settlement.
4. “Neighborhood Guilds,” by Dr. Jane E. Robbins, of the College Settlement.

May 10.—George Gunton, President College of Social Economics, in the Chair.

“New York’s Thoroughfares” [twenty minute limit]:

1. “Clean Streets,” by Hon. William S. Andrews, Commissioner of Street Cleaning.
2. “Clear Streets,” by Josiah C. Pumpelly, Secretary of the City Improvement Society.
3. “Well-paved Streets,” by Maj. James W. Howard, C.E.

May 24.—Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst in the Chair.

“New York for New Yorkers”:

1. “Home Rule,” by R. W. G. Welling, of the City Club.
2. “A Greater New York,” by Hon. Andrew H. Green, President of the Commission.
3. “Ballot Reform,” by Horace E. Deming, of the Reform Club.
4. “Proportional Representation,” by Edmond Kelly, of the City Club.

June 7.—Hon. Carl Schurz in the Chair.

“New York’s Political Prospects”:

“The Municipal Mission of Tammany Hall,” by Louis P. Gratacap, author of “The Political Mission of Tammany Hall.”

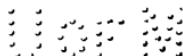
“The Democratic Party,” Hon. Henry R. Beekman.

“The Republican Party,” John A. Sleicher, Editor-in-Chief “Mail and Express.”

“The People’s Party,” W. J. Ghent.

“The Socialist Labor Party,” H. B. Salisbury.

The object of these conferences is to promote an intelligent interest in the subject of municipal government, and to provide an opportunity for the



free and courteous discussion of current municipal topics looking towards a line of action positive and constructive rather than negative and destructive: measures rather than men.

In order to facilitate discussion we trust that all will see the necessity for the following rules:

Appointed speakers shall be allowed fifteen minutes, except where otherwise stated in the program. Any one present at any conference, who, by sending his name to the Chairman, shall signify his desire to speak upon a topic then under discussion, may be called upon by the presiding officer. Such volunteer speakers shall be allowed five minutes.

There shall be no appeal from the decision of the Chair.

Should sufficient interest be aroused, it is proposed to print either in whole or in part the papers read at the conferences.

WILLIAM SCUDAMORE,

Secretary.

408 West 23d Street.

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ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL NO. IV.

NOTE.—The following is a reprint of an editorial which appeared in the "Independent" of New York, Nov. 7, 1901. It shows how much the women of that city have been able to accomplish even under very discouraging conditions, and it affords a fine illustration of the work which American women are doing in all parts of our country to improve urban conditions.

THE CREDIT FOR DECENT GOVERNMENT.

In the luxurious buffet smoking-car of one of the fast through trains between New York and the West, a dozen gentlemen the other day were discussing the probable outcome of the New York municipal campaign. They were from every part of the United States ; they represented every shade of political opinion and various business and professional interests. One, a resident of Salt Lake City, a man of wealth and refinement, who had travelled in every clime, brought the conversation to a focus with this remark : " Well, gentlemen, whether Mr. Low or Mr. Shepard be elected, New York will continue to be, as it has long been, the

best kept and, on the whole, the best governed city on the face of this little planet."

The remark, of course, was received with surprise, and, by one or two residents of Chicago, with almost angry protest; while a New Yorker, reasonably familiar with the situation, but who had taken no part in the discussion, was able in his own mind to anticipate the explanation which was immediately demanded, and was as promptly supplied.

"I mean this," the gentleman from Utah continued; "first, the life and property of a visitor from another city are safer in the streets of New York than in the streets of any other city that I have ever seen; while, as for the city of Chicago, which my friends here represent, it is notoriously the most unsafe town for the stranger, if not indeed for its own citizens, in the United States to-day. I mean, in the second place, that New York has an extensive system of electric railways without overhead wires, and that even telegraph and telephone poles have been removed from all the streets below the Harlem district. I mean, in the third place, that the streets of New York, whatever they may have been in the past, are now well paved and well cleaned. I mean, in the fourth place, that

public nuisances of any sort are less frequently met with in the streets and parks of New York than in those of any other city which I visit. And finally, in the fifth place, I mean that, from all that I can gather by observation, from conversation, and from printed material, more earnest and efficient work is done, year after year, by such administrative bodies as the Board of Health, the Department of Charities, and the Park Commissioners to make the conditions of life tolerable for the great mass of human beings living within the municipal district, than is done by similar administrative bodies in any other great city."

To these assertions there was some murmured objection, but no specific reply. Apparently no one was able to prove them untrue. The New Yorker reviewed them one by one in the solitude of his own thoughts as the train sped on, and was obliged to confess to himself that on the whole the Westerner's observations were substantially correct. But the reason for this superiority of New York's administration her citizen found, or thought he found, in causes which had not been mentioned in the conversation, and which reflect little credit upon the politicians of any party; certainly none upon the vile gang whose name is Tammany.

The remark has been repeated until we all are tired of hearing it, that New Yorkers have no civic pride. Possibly this remark is true; we do not know. But whether true or false, one thing at least is true—namely, that New York has an astonishingly large number of citizens in whom the civic conscience is keenly alive; devoted men and women who feel a strong sense of personal responsibility for municipal conditions, as well as for their own private affairs. Among these, perhaps the highest examples of self-sacrificing devotion to the public good are found in the ranks of New York women. To them, as much as to any body of voters, belongs the credit for bringing about such efficiency and decency of municipal administration as we can claim. It is indeed true, as the gentleman from Utah said, that the Department of Charities is on the whole efficient. And why? Chiefly, as all know who are properly informed, because of the untiring lifelong efforts of women like Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, of the Charity Organization Society, Miss Louisa Lee Schuyler, and the late Miss Rosalie Butler, of the State Charities Aid Association, and others who, possibly not so well known, are not less worthy to be named. It is true also that the sanitary adminis-

tration of New York, the care of the streets, and the protection of the parks, have been, all in all, astonishingly satisfactory when it is considered that the municipal government throughout the greater part of the city's history has been in the hands of thieves as bold as vile, and as vile as human degradation can be. And again asking why? we again find the answer to be as simple and clear as before. In 1896 a little band of women, unable to endure longer the sickening sights and deadly foulness that everywhere defiled our streets and docks, and that rendered the city unsafe to any family, organized the Woman's Health Protective Association of New York. To the labors of this association, more than to any other one agency, we owe the fact that New York is now, outwardly at least, a comparatively decent place. It was this association that made the first systematic investigation of the condition of city stables, of slaughter houses, of bakeries, and of garbage disposition, and which brought a continuing pressure to bear upon the Street Cleaning Department and upon the Board of Health to do their sworn duty to a reasonable degree of thoroughness. The organization keeps out of politics, it cultivates friendly and courteous relations with

all officials, of whatever party, and by tact, persistence, and strict attention to its own proper business it has achieved results that no professional reformer in the bottom of his heart would have believed possible.

These achievements by intelligent and earnest women in the fields of public charity and of public sanitation are but two examples among many that might be named of the successful efforts of citizens who are not voters to get such results of decency and efficiency in municipal government as may be possible under the evil political conditions from which we suffer. Not least among these achievements has been the work of the Women's Municipal League, in exposing the partnership between the police department and the most appalling forms of vice.

If, then, New York, in spite of Tammany and Tammany's Republican accomplices, is a comparatively safe and decent town, the credit belongs to those citizens, both men and women, who, looking for no official recognition, or any personal advantage, have given time and strength and means to a quiet but tireless endeavor to make conditions as tolerable as is possible with the existing political machinery. If New York is, in truth, better gov-

erned than other cities, it is because New York has more citizens who are sufficiently alive to civic duty to give up their pleasures, and even to sacrifice business interests, in order to work for the public good.

ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL NO. V.

The following quotation is from an address which Mayor Swift made to the Commercial Club of Chicago about seven years ago, as reported at the time in the press. It deserves careful consideration, although again it is too sweeping to serve as a basis for a generalization, unless, indeed, one makes important exceptions, and among these exceptions it is a pleasure to mention especially the most encouraging activity of leading citizens of New York City in their "Merchants' Association," which has been characterized by a prominent attorney as the chief anti-monopoly organization in the United States. It has been well remarked that it is not possible to divide citizens into good poor citizens and bad rich citizens. If it were, the problem of reform would be much simpler than it is. In Chicago it has been the people with the little houses as well as those with the palaces who bring pressure to bear on the assessor to secure low assessments.

The present mayor has within sixty days vetoed half a dozen ordinances passed by your representatives giving space in the streets to representative property-owners who came to the common council and asked for it. Who is it that comes into the common council and asks for such privileges? Who it is who are accused of offering bribes for such franchises? It is the same ones — the prominent citizens.

I tell you, these questions come home. Talk about anarchy; talk about breeding the spirit of communism! What does it more than the representative citizens of Chicago? Your high-toned business men, your patriotic men, your prominent citizens of Chicago are the men who knock at the door of the council and ask for illegal franchises. It is not the common people.

Take the remedy, then, into your own homes, into your circle of prominent business men, and teach them patriotism.

Who bribes the common council? It is not men in the common walks of life. It is men in your own walks of life, sitting by your firesides, at your clubs. Is it men in the common walks of life that demand bribes and who receive bribes from the hands of the legislative bodies or the

common council ? No. It is your representative citizens, your capitalists, your business men.

When have they come to the front, either individually or collectively, and inveighed against this manner of obtaining franchises ? When did they come to the front, individually or collectively, and ask of the common council adequate remuneration for their city ? Never, to my knowledge.

Who is responsible for the condition of affairs in the city of Chicago ? Your representative business men. If an assessor grows rich while in office, with whom does he divide ? Not with the common people. He divides with the man who tempts him to make a low assessment; not the man who has the humble little house, but the capitalist and the business man. These are plain words, but they are true.

